1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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folklorists and historians struggled with patriotic inventiveness to provide historical and ethnological evidence for the advance or validation of their various national frontiers in areas which under the unity imposed by the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires had become an inextricable patchwork of different ethnic and religious groups. The Sarakatsani were one element in this complex pattern. For under Turkish rule their seasonal migrations had led many of them across limits that were later to become the frontiers of Greece, with Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

In these debates the Greeks and their supporters present the more convincing argument. They suggest that if the Sarakatsani were recently hellenized Koutsovlachs they would preserve at least some traces of a foreign origin in their language and customs. But Höeg has shown[11] that neither phonetically, nor in terms of grammatical structure, are there traces of Koutsovlach elements in the dialect spoken by the Sarakatsani. He also claims that the dialects of the Sarakatsani in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly present a linguistic unity.[12] If the various groups of Sarakatsani had, indeed, been recently hellenized one would have expected them to speak the local dialect of the province in which they now find their grazing lands; and this is not the case. And he properly adds to these linguistic arguments information about the different marriage customs of the two groups.[13]

Where Höeg has used linguistic and ethnographic criteria, Mme Chatzimichalis also emphasizes the unity of Sarakatsan art forms,[14] which are simple, static, and geometric, do not vary from one province to another, and in the absence of naturalistic expression differ radically from those of the Koutsovlachs.

But the rebuttals by both these authors of the opinion that Sarakatsani are hellenized Koutsovlachs are only the preliminaries to their own more general theory that the Sarakatsani are the direct descendants of shepherd communities of preclassical Greece—a claim which it is equally difficult to prove

[11] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 78.
[12] Ibid., vol. i, preface, p. VIII.
[13] Ibid., vol. i, p. 81.
[14] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρϛ'.

knees, others leaned back against the wall or the divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *komboloi* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo, and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks. They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, staffs grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall; the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years. They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly chopped and consonantal ring. It was made harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katsnóila*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okes* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

/326 cont./

796 takes place the day before (Friday), and the other on the holiday itself. On Friday, at twilight, the boys of each /327/ Tséligato form a group. One of them is chosen to play the role of the saint. He stretches out on the ground, his eyes closed, his hands crossed on his chest; he represents the dead saint. His companions then lift him up and start making the rounds of all the hits. They stop in front of each door, deposit "Saint Lazarus" on the ground, and sadly sing of his death. When the tour of the huts is finished, the group disbands. The next morning the boys gather anew and go to the fields to gather flowers. Afterwords they make a figurine out or pieces of wood, dress it like an infant and cover it with the gathered flowers. This figurine represents the infant Lazarus reborn. The boys recommence their tour of the huts, singing joyous tunes, rejoicing in his resurrection; the women give them sweets and eggs. The symbolism of this scene is identical with that of the "pure Monday" dance. The death and resurrection of Saint Lazarus, "the friend of the Lord," here take on the meaning of the periodic regeneration of nature; they are therefore put at the service of fertility. The simulated death of the young man, his rebirth in the form of an infant, the gathered flowers, the eggs which contain life, etc., leave no doubt about the accuracy of this interpretation. (1)

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(522)
(523)

1. K. A. PEDIADIS : Λαϊκαί Λατρείαι..., p. 168, note 1. — Γ. ΜΕΤΑΞ Ἑλληνικὴ Θρησκ, p. 168.

(171) --It is a custom found almost everywhere in Greece.

* * * *

Maundy Thursday is a day of extreme importance in the popular religion of Greece, on the one hand, because in church "the twelve gospels" are read, recounting the arrest, the judgment and the crucifixion of the Lord, and on the other hand, on account of the belief "that the souls of the dead, freed by the descent of Christ into hell, rise up on Maundy

/328 cont./

796 533 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of
[532] catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then,
[477] seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while
[596] the members of the Tseligato come, one after another, to prostrate themselves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)
796 178

2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of
[114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in
796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals
171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. B. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
pp. 239-253 and the bibliography drawn up by
Ευ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗΣ : Ὁ Θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. 130-131.

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation.
771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform
796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and
171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis,
178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/368 cont./

533 [235] recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous, emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it [152] they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able to exert such an influence on feeling.

531 532

Fig. 104

Fig. 105

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

531 532 114 [178] 4. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the art of our herders and gives excellent comments on the morphology of the decorated objects. This part of her work is all the more valuable in that it deals

531 /368 cont./
532 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the
114 present time.
178 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven
538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.